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THE INDYPENDENT

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RADIO FREE AMERICA PACIFICA NETWORK AT ODDS OVER DIVERSITY AND DEMOCRACY

Eighteen months after scoring a landmark legal victory in California Superior Court and reclaiming five of the only progressive radio stations in the United States, Pacifica Radio supporters and board members are attempting to formulate a new set of national bylaws. But talks collapsed in late July amid waves of bitter recrimination.

Three out of five Local Station Advisory Boards (LABs) rejected the proposed bylaw draft, known as "Draft B." The climactic vote came Monday night in Los Angeles, with the KPFA LAB voting down the draft by a margin of 12 to 11.

The next evening's meeting of the WBAI-LAB provided the final nail in the coffin to Draft B. WBAI (99.5-FM) listeners who spoke out at the meeting voiced support of the draft by a margin of 15 to 3; the Local Advisory Board rejected it 2 to 12, with one member abstaining.

BY CHRIS ANDERSON

Opponents of the draft were ecstatic. Calling the defeat of Draft B a "stunning victory for affirmative action," Sheila Hamanaka, co-chair of Rockland County Friends of Pacifica, wrote in an email that "taking a short time to resolve [Draft B diversity] concerns... will result in a set of bylaws which will hopefully contain meaningful affirmative action remedies and allow for full development of empowered local boards."

Draft B supporters were gloomy. In a response to Hamanaka, WBAI listener Paul Surovell claimed that the failure of Draft B marked a victory for the old corporate Pacifica Board majority and their "allies on the [interim board] who want Pacifica put into

receivership based on the failure of the [interim board] and LABs to adopt bylaws."

The gloom stands in sharp contrast to the hope engendered in the winter of 2001-2002, when the "re-taking" of the five Pacifica Radio Stations by community activists and former station employees was hailed as a rare triumph for the left. On Jan. 13, 2002, Miguel Maldonado, chairman of New York's WBAI Local Advisory Board, called the developments at Pacifica "a historic event in independent media history," but added that "we look forward to the full democratization of the network."

When asked in July how the democratization at WBAI was proceeding, a year and a half after the settlement that ended the decade-old conflict, Maldonado chuckled ruefully. "Ugly," he said. "It's ugly."

Democratization at Pacifica

Founded in the late 1940s by a small group of radical pacifists, listener-sponsored Pacifica operates high-powered FM stations in Berkeley, Los Angeles, Houston, Washington, D.C., and New York that can reach approximately 20 percent of the U.S. population. Located in the middle of the FM dial, WBAI's 50,000-watt signal alone has a potential audience of more than 20 million people in the tri-state area.

Throughout most of the 1990s, the network was engulfed in a power struggle between community-minded activists and a politically centrist corporate-backed elite who had seized control of the Pacifica National Board (PNB) and fired or banned many Pacifica employees. In January 2002 the long struggle seemed to come to a dramatic end, with a combination of political and monetary pressure, listener lawsuits and protest marches forcing out the corporate PNB members.

In handing down the settlement that ended the activists' lawsuit against the PNB, Alameda Superior Court Judge Ronald Sabraw ordered that an Interim Pacifica National Board and Local Advisory Boards be created to revise the Pacifica bylaws and supervise elections for Local Station Boards

in each of the five station areas. Once formed, the station boards will select a new Pacifica National Board.

For the last 18 months, though, attempts by the interim board to formulate a set of bylaws and election rules for the station boards have come to naught. In its most recent board meeting on June 26, the interim board was unable to agree on a formal bylaw proposal, and the matter was referred back to Judge Sabraw. On July 8, Sabraw ruled that one potential draft of the bylaws, "Draft B," had made sufficient progress to be voted upon by all five LABs. The resulting rejection by the listener boards on Draft B moves the bylaws drafting process into uncertain territory.

Despite its seemingly technical nature, this disagreement exposes fundamental rifts within the Pacifica community.

The main point of contention is over racial representation: namely, how to ensure that local stations, their station boards and the national board include the full spectrum of historically under-represented minority groups.

The two primary drafts, A and B, both contain language mandating the creation of

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LENNY BRUCE IS NOT AFRAID, P.3 • COMMUNITY EVENTS CALENDAR, P.12



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With autonomous chapters in more than 100 cities throughout the world, the Independent Media Center is an international network of volunteer media activists.

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ANOTHER WORLD IS POSSIBLE

Thoughts on the murder of Sakia Gunn: Looking at her life from the from the Christopher St. Piers

By J. K. JAFFE

The Christopher Street piers look a lot different than they did eight years ago, when I slept on them after I ran away from home. The cement and barbed wire have been replaced by a grassy lawn and tables and chairs alongside the grayish water.

Technically I didn't run away from home, I ran from high school. Some friends and I started a gay student group at my upstate New York school in 1993 after the big gay march on Washington. We called it Visibility. Little did we realize how visible we'd be.

When most of my allies graduated the following year, I received the full glare of that spotlight. I was name-called, threatened and chased home numerous times; my locker was defaced and my home prank-called; and near the end of my senior year, a carload of boys tried to run me over, swerving to swipe at me in the shoulder of the road, shouting "Dyke!" as I hastily scaled a nearby tree.

And here I was, eight years later, mourning Sakia Gunn, a 15-year-old dyke brutally murdered May 11 in Newark. Had anything changed?

There are the obvious differences. Sakia Gunn was a poor black teenager, targeted and killed; I was a middle-class suburbanite who eventually escaped to college. But both of us were punished for an unwillingness or inability to hide who we were.

Gunn and friends had just come back to Newark from a late night hanging out in Greenwich Village, probably on the piers, and were waiting for a bus home when propositioned by Richard McCullough. They rejected the advance by calmly explaining that they were gay, and then McCullough stabbed Gunn to death.

But beware of blaming Gunn by imposing a cause-and-effect framework on this scenario. "The implication is that if the girls had politely said, 'No thank you, not tonight, sweethearts,' and then skeedaddled, the disappointed men would have left them alone," write Kelly Cogswell and Ana Simo in the online magazine *The Gully*. "Judging by photos and TV footage, the girls couldn't pass as straight even if they'd wanted to... in fact she [Gunn] was a target before she opened her mouth."

Gunn was targeted for looking masculine; whether she compounded the danger by admitting to be a lesbian is dubious if not ridiculous. It's sex, not sexuality, that's at stake here, though



TEARS OF SORROW: Two of Sakia Gunn's friends at vigil. PHOTO: Michael Young/GLAAD.org

trying to distinguish the two is often like trying to distinguish water from other water in the same river.

These attacks are about maintaining gender behavior. In high school, I was singled out not just because I said I loved women - I wasn't the only woman doing so - but because I stepped up to arguments, spoke up in class and wore baggy clothes (except for my rainbow fishnets - paired with combat boots, of course). I was punished for being a lousy girl.

All women are subject to the gender police. Imagine running from a would-be rapist in heels; and then being asked what you were wearing, in the aftermath of him catching up with you. Ostensibly there is some magic balance of traditionally feminine yet tough, sexy yet modest, friendly yet not inviting advances, by which a woman can keep herself both blameless and safe; but I don't know anyone who's found it.

And as long as someone can be targeted for existing on the outskirts of gender, all women are going to know exactly where the boundaries are and feel anxiously restricted by them.

Yet this is rarely seen as one struggle. When feminine women are attacked it's called violence against women; when masculine or trans women are attacked it's called violence against queers. Either way most people don't think it's their problem.

There were a few hundred people at the vigil on the Christopher Street piers, mostly young and black like Gunn and her friends. Where were the women's groups? Why was the Feminist Majority in such a minority? Had NOW decided to come later?

Where was the rest of the gay

movement? A search of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force's website - arguably one of the largest, and left-est, gay-rights groups in America - turned up nothing on Gunn. Few of the Chelsea boys and gym queens I saw on Christopher Street made it out to the pier. And when I'm one of the oldest people I see at a rally, I worry - I was teething under Reagan. Are we afraid of our movement's more ragtag elements?

And what about the left? The pro-U.S. jingoists have it right for once when they say to support the troops overseas and at home. There's a war going on right here, and most of its soldiers can't go AWOL to Manhattan or San Fran.

It's possible that people just didn't hear about the murder or the community response. Much has been said about the racism behind the corporate media's burying of the story. Black people are killed in this country every day (speaking of domestic wars), and rarely make the news unless shot more than forty times. If they kill each other, heck, they're just doing the state's work, and what's newsworthy about that?

Plus this isn't the sort of story the mainstream gay community tries to trumpet. Matthew Shepard, white, pretty and Midwestern, was a palatable symbol, but a black butch dyke might skew our P.R. in Dubuque. They might think we all look like that, and then they'll never let us get married.

The struggle won't move forward in any useful way until we realize the true scope of its dimensions. This is cause not for despair but hope. It means we are all allies. We all deserve to live, and to flourish. But first we need to start with those most in

danger: young, poor, genderqueer queers of color. If the world is not safe for everyone, it's not safe at all.

Comment by Marilyn Hacker

Thanks for keeping Sakia Gunn's name in our minds, and for your pertinent and necessary analysis.

Comment by Garuda

The West Village, despite the efforts of RID and some in the queer establishment, is a place where it's at least okay to be queer, if not trans, or a person of color. The murder of Sakia is disturbing. How many of us go to the West Village from much less accepting (if not outright intolerant) neighborhoods, and find some sense of empowerment there? And how many of us go back to our neighborhoods, whether by PATH or by subway, and feel an even more rapid disempowerment? The brutality that one can face uptown is just as bad as that which happened to Sakia Gunn in Newark.

From my interviews in and around the West Village, I heard a lot of disappointing things. Almost across the board, those who were not participating in the march and vigil were able to identify the incident that they read in the papers - but they weren't able to identify the person. It's as if we accept our own mistreatment as the norm, unchallenged. One can argue that the people I talked to didn't know Sakia Gunn personally - but how many people in New York know people in Laramie, Wyoming?

All the safe spaces in the world can't save us if we still have to come home off of trains and deal with the armed prejudice of the world.

WHEN THEY CAME FOR THE QUEERS...

I WENT SHOPPING

BY SUZIE DAY

Congratulations, lesbian, gay, bisexual or transgendered person! After all your years of out-and-proud politics, rainbow flags and civil suits, the U.S. government has decided to take you seriously. Suddenly you have been snatched from your home, your gym, your disco and, before your lover even had time to sew the name tags onto your Jockeys, off you went – to camp. Yes, finally, they've come for the queers!

Your first few days in detention can be the hardest. Adjusting to the barbed wire, the bad food, the leaden decor will likely cause you to experience what has come to be known as the "GET-ME-OUTTA-HERE" syndrome. Cheer up. This is a common reaction, so for once, you can be considered normal.

Perhaps you can find solace by recalling the example of Pastor Martin Niemöller, who, just after World War II, wrote: "First, they came for the Communists, and I didn't speak up because I wasn't a Communist. Then they came for the Jews, and I didn't speak up..."

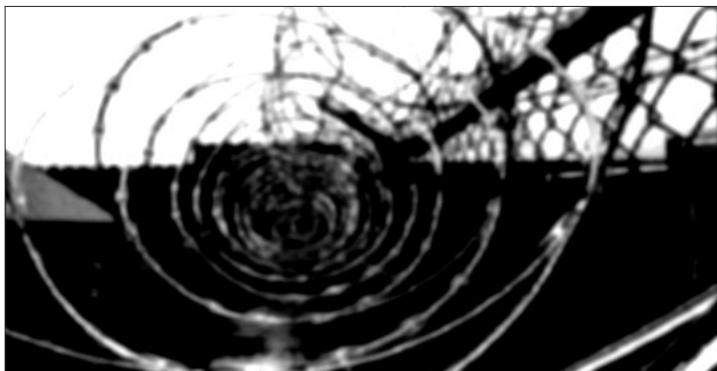
Take a minute to pat yourself on the back, queer person. Pastor Niemöller got to stay out of camps for years because he didn't speak up – and so did you! All the while the feds kept rounding up Arabs and Muslims and South Asians, and passing laws annulling personal liberties, YOU just kept dismissing the war on Iraq as "not gay enough," and going to Pottery Barn.

But, obladi, oblada, times change. You must have known that, sooner or later, your unnatural lifestyle would be seen as a terrorist threat to our American way of life. Here's a few survival pointers for your time behind bars!

1. KNOW YOUR RIGHTS

Ever notice how scientific breakthroughs are simplifying our workaday lives? It's the same with the law! To save you time and effort, America's hardworking leaders have gotten rid of all those antiquated rights to "due process" and "assemble," and redistributed new, improved legal protections! Here are just a few of your new "rights!"

- Now that you're all locked up with no place to go, it would be silly to make you feel even worse by telling you the reason for your arrest. That's why the government is keeping your charges a big secret! Unlike that pesky Miranda Rule, it's the court that now has the right to remain silent. You do, however, gain the right to be barred indefinitely from contacting your family or attorney, or from being tried in a civilian court. You have a further right to a military tribunal, in which a secret panel of judges has the right to vote for your execution.



- Before you were detained, you had the right to the quick and efficient tapping of your telephone and email – without the government violating your private life by telling you about it. When this right was first implemented in 2001, it was unfairly used mainly on Muslim dissidents. But thanks to our democratic principles, it now applies to everyone, regardless of race, sex, religion, or – with a tip o' the hat to the Vice President's lesbian daughter – sexual orientation.

- Under the 2003 PATRIOT Act II, you have the right to lose your American citizenship and face deportation if you are a member of, or have aided, an organization deemed by our government to be "terrorist." So let's hope your lifetime membership in P-FLAG checks out!

2. WRITE YOUR JAILHOUSE MEMOIRS

Due to the plethora of recent terrorist arrests, it's easy to feel lost in the crowd. But this is America, and you have free speech, so why not begin your prison memoirs? Did you land, for example, in a cell with some college professors? A group of activist nuns? A bunch of rowdies from the International Socialist Organization? Describe.

Or perhaps you're lucky enough to do hard time with a celebrity detainee! Think of being able to observe, up close and personal, the intimate bathroom secrets of Susan Sarandon, the Dixie Chicks or Michael Moore! This is the stuff that bestsellers are made of, so you may want to start looking around for a detained editor from Random House.

3. GIVE THE GOVERNMENT THE BENEFIT OF THE DOUBT

You, as a queer detainee, may have terrorist traits of which you are unaware. For instance, have you ever attended a lecture against fossil fuels? Left an extra-large tip at a French restaurant? Perhaps you forgot you did these things. Trained "detention professionals" are there to help.

Due to the recent dismantling of the United Nations, the Geneva Convention is now old hat – so no one has to bother about whether you're receiving your 2,000 daily calories, or even the minimal necessities to sustain life. Dedicated prison staff will be on hand to keep you sleep- and food-deprived, with the lights burning 24/7, until you can work through your terror "problem." Who knows? You may even come to feel that detention is for your own good! It's a queer world, queer person, and stranger things have happened.



Carlos Alfonso

"TAKE AWAY THE RIGHT TO SAY 'FUCK' AND YOU TAKE AWAY THE RIGHT TO SAY 'FUCK THE GOVERNMENT.'"

LENNY BRUCE'S TRIALS CONTINUE

BY F. TIMOTHY MARTIN

During the fifties and sixties few comedic performers dared to include such a line in their routines. Most were too busy peddling one-liners and cheap slapstick. But Lenny Bruce was not one who cared much about conforming to convention.

His outrageous comic routines and social criticism served as the guiding inspiration for modern comedy. They also made him the constant target of an Orwellian thought police intent on persecuting him for a routine that would raise few eyebrows today.

Now, nearly 40 years after his death, the likes of Robin Williams, Nat Hentoff, Margaret Cho and other prominent entertainers and First Amendment defenders have come together to restore Bruce's good name. In an impassioned letter sent to George Pataki on May 20, they petitioned the New York governor to posthumously pardon Bruce for his November 1964 obscenity conviction following a performance at the Café Au Go-Go in Greenwich Village.

Robert Corn-Revere, Chief Counsel for the petitioners, sees the pardon as an opportunity for Pataki to reverse a questionable precedent. "For those of us who practice First Amendment law it seems like the kind of precedent that should not exist," he says. "The fact that [Bruce's] conviction remains on the books perpetuates the type of stigma that the pardon power was created to redress, for it is too late for the courts to provide relief."

The 1957 Supreme Court obscenity case *Roth v. United States* proved disastrous for a free-speaking comic like Bruce.

In the court's decision, Justice William J. Brennan, Jr. wrote, "This Court has always assumed that obscenity is not protected by the freedoms of

speech and press... Implicit in the history of the First Amendment is the rejection of obscenity as utterly without socially redeeming importance."

As a result, Bruce was dragged in front of at least 30 presiding judges throughout the country during his short career. The charges never stuck – that is, until he reached New York in 1964.

It was there he was charged and convicted, despite Allen Ginsburg, Susan Sontag, Gore Vidal and other leading intellectuals intervening on Bruce's behalf. Ultimately, the pressure of defending against such absurdity led him into deep depression, culminating in his death by drug overdose on Aug. 3, 1966, at the age of 40.

In the liberalizing years that followed, most forgot that Bruce was never exonerated. Others, like the *New York Times*, mistakenly reported that his name had in fact been cleared.

"This is about the state of New York saying what it did in 1964 was wrong and setting the record straight," says Ronald Collins, co-author of *The Trials of Lenny Bruce: The Fall and Rise of an American Icon*. "This man was a victim. Whether or not you like his comedy, whether or not you think it's insightful or silly, the First Amendment should have protected it. Shame on New York circa 1964 for not respecting that."

Whether we watch another musician get "Dixie-Chicked" or see an actor like Tim Robbins barred from the Baseball Hall of Fame, Bruce's legacy remains a prescient reminder that the protection of free speech rights is an ongoing struggle.

Bruce well understood the illogic of his censure.

"I've been accused of bad taste," he said. "And I'll go down to my grave accused of it and always by the same people, the ones who eat in restaurants that reserve the right to refuse service to anyone."

CRITICAL MASS

**BIKE RIDE FROM UNION SQUARE
LAST FRIDAY OF EVERY MONTH**

MEDIA IN BRIEF

By CHRIS ANDERSON & JED BRANDT

While listeners, managers and reporters at Pacifica Radio struggle to resolve their internecine conflicts, independent media producers around the world are facing far more serious threats to their programming and, sometimes, their lives. What follows is a survey of attacks on independent journalism earlier this month.

COMMUNITY TV SHUT DOWN IN VENEZUELA

A Venezuelan mayor opposed to the rule of President Hugo Chavez has forced an independent community television center in Caracas to shut its doors. The July 10 decision to close Catia TV by Caracas Mayor Alfredo Pena has been ignored by most Western media outlets, although the move has caught the attention of some European press watchdogs. Venezuela's large commercial TV networks are fiercely anti-Chavez and supported a failed coup attempt against the democratically elected president in April 2002.

NarcoNews.com calls Catia TV "a community television station that is not merely at the service of the community but, rather, is directed by the local people." The residents of the impoverished neighborhood of East Caracas, where the station broadcasts, conduct all Catia TV's programming, interviews and editing.

AMERICAN INDEPENDENT JOURNALIST TO FACE TRIAL IN INDONESIA

William Nessen, an American freelance journalist who traveled with rebels in the Indonesian province of Aceh and documented the early stages of the Indonesian military's brutal offensive against the rebels, will stand trial later this month in Indonesia, ostensibly for visa violations. He faces five years in prison. Nessen was arrested in June, after he gave himself up to Indonesian military authorities.

Since the invasion of Aceh began in May, the Indonesian government has aped Pentagon media tactics during the Iraq war, "embedding" hundreds of journalists with Indonesian army units. At the same time, they have cracked down hard on "unaccredited" reporting by foreign and Indonesian journalists.

CANADIAN JOURNALIST BEATEN TO DEATH IN TEHRAN

On July 17, Iran's government admitted that an independent Canadian journalist, Zahra Kazemi, was beaten to death after being arrested outside an Iranian prison. Kazemi, a Canadian of Iranian descent, was arrested after taking pictures of Tehran's notorious Evin prison, where many dissidents are jailed.

ITALIAN PARLIAMENT PASSES "BERLUSCONI CONTROLS EVERYTHING" MEDIA BILL

While Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi was recently hanging out with George W. Bush, the Italian parliament passed legislation that will expand the power of his Mediaset empire. With ownership of three commercial TV networks, management of state broadcasting, and the executive branch of government firmly under his control, Berlusconi is riding high. Considering New York is run by Bloomberg, what can we say?



LET BYLAWS BE BYGONES: KPFK's Local Advisory Board considers proposed bylaws July 21 in Los Angeles. In a dramatic 12-11 vote, the board voted down "Draft B" sending Pacifica's governance into legal limbo. **INSET:** Opposition to Draft B was strong in some cities.



PACIFICA DEMOCRACY *continued from cover*

committees of inclusion that will "monitor the diversity of both station programming and staffing in consultation with the Local station Boards." The difference between the proposals is that Draft A gives the committees of inclusion additional powers, such as permission to add up to five unelected members to station boards if elections do not produce an "adequately diverse" board.

Supporters of Draft A contend that strong diversity remedies are necessary to ensure adequate minority input into the Pacifica governance process. Hamanaka says, "I think this issue of institutional racism is a serious problem at Pacifica." She goes on to argue that it is "absolutely vital that there be a serious and aggressive program of affirmative action" for the station boards. In the view of Draft A supporters, the diversity guarantees contained in Draft B do little to promote diversity.

Supporters of Draft B, for their part, argue that the committees of inclusion proposals in Draft A subvert the democratic process. While Draft B supporters acknowledge the importance of diversity, some claim that Draft A's proposal to allow unelected representatives is a power play on the part of long-time producers and hosts rather than a genuine solution to promote racial diversity.

Patty Heffley, a plaintiff to the original listener lawsuit, expresses the view of many disgruntled Pacifica activists. "There are a lot of people using race to muddle up things, because they don't want to relinquish power... They don't want to have democratic Pacifica elections in New York City."

Maldonado agrees. "This whole conflict is about power, basically. The fight at WBAI is all about who has the power, and who does not. And no one has been willing to talk about that during this entire process."

Bob Lederer, a longtime WBAI staffer and active member of the Pacifica reform movement since December 2000, takes issue with activists who see manipulation as the primary motivation of Draft A supporters. The claim "that Draft A would assign discretion to this committee of inclusion to pick and choose who should sit on the local boards ... is completely untrue," he says.

According to Lederer, in Draft A demographic goals are set for an election area, and if they are not met in an election, a formula comes into play to determine who is added to the board.

Supporters of Draft B remain skeptical. "The main sticking point is that people in control now want to remain in control," argues Heffley. "And over a period of time, elections will change that."

Diversity in New York

Maldonado supports Draft B. "Not," he says, "because it's a perfect draft, but because I think that it addresses some of my main concerns, which is the fact that it allows the people more freedom to vote, and elect whomever they feel like."

As an advocate for greater inclusion of Latinos in WBAI, Maldonado believes that a fair, honest election will "give New York's Latino community a chance to play a role in WBAI that it never has before."

Despite claims by Draft A supporters that their diversity language does the most to ensure a representative board, Maldonado feels that these advocates are missing the point. "At WBAI we have to depend on people feeling sorry for the Latino commu-

nity in order for us to get anything. I want... minority groups in New York to have power at Pacifica because their communities support them, not because some power at WBAI feels they need an extra board seat."

Supporters of Draft A contend that placing so much faith in the listenership and the democratic process is misguided. They contend that years of corporatization at Pacifica have created a listener base that is unrepresentative of the diversity the stations are trying to achieve. Lederer explains, "While we're not saying our listeners are reactionary, it's a problem to say that the voters will be inherently progressive and that they'll vote in a progressive way across the spectrum."

Regardless of how listeners might vote, both sides see developing a stronger connection to the listener base as crucial to preserving the network. Maldonado says, "We'll have to move beyond this conflict, and we'll have to get the community more involved. Because if we don't, you can say bye-bye to Pacifica as a functioning network. Pacifica will be gone."

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BUSH SHOPS FOR MILITARY BASES ON AFRICA TOUR

BY KEVIN J. KELLEY

Plans for a strong but selective U.S. military commitment in Africa comprised a key sub-theme of President George W. Bush's recent whirlwind tour of the continent.

Bush's public comments on the military aspects of his Africa policy were largely confined to the question of U.S. troop deployments in Liberia. Behind the scenes, however, members of the president's entourage assessed African governments' attitudes regarding Washington's aim of establishing a military presence in several sub-Saharan nations.

The brief stopover at Entebbe, for example, likely included discussions on broader and ongoing US access to military facilities inside Uganda. Pentagon officials recently made clear that they want to expand existing agreements with Uganda and five other sub-Saharan nations that now allow refueling of military aircraft.

Some 1,800 American soldiers are now stationed in Djibouti at a rudimentary camp that may be seen as a prototype for the "family of bases" that Marine Corps Gen. James Jones says the Pentagon plans to establish throughout Africa.

As many as 5,000 US troops could be stationed at "forward operating bases" in parts of the sub-Saharan region, *The New York Times* reported. U.S. Special Forces may meanwhile be sent to more lightly equipped bases in Africa to carry out specific missions, the newspaper added. The Pentagon does not intend to build large new installations of its own in Africa, but would instead

BURDEN OF THE WHITE MAN

We are very angry. We didn't even see him," said Fatou N'diaye, a necklace seller watching dignitaries file past to return to the mainland at the end of Bush's tour. N'diaye and other residents of Goree, site of a famous slave trading station, said they had been taken to a football ground on the other side of the quaint island at 6 a.m. and told to wait there until Bush had departed.

Bush came to Goree to tour the red-brick Slave House, where Africans were kept in shackles before being shipped across a perilous sea to a lifetime of servitude.

He then gave a speech about the horrors of slavery, standing at a podium under a sizzling sun near a red-stone museum, topped by cannon pointing out to the sea.

White House officials said the decision to remove the locals was taken by Senegalese authorities. But there was no doubt who the residents blamed.

"We never want to see him again," said one unimpressed woman. — Source: Reuters

upgrade existing military facilities in perhaps half a dozen countries, potentially including Algeria, Mali, Ghana and Senegal as well as Uganda or Kenya.

The planned move into Africa highlights the historic shift in U.S. military strategy occasioned by the September 2001 attacks on New York and Washington. Less emphasis is being placed on traditional defense arrangements in Europe, while more attention will go to counter-terrorism operations in what U.S. military planners term an "arc of instability" stretching through the Middle

East and sub-Saharan Africa and into western and central Asia.

Ensuring greater access to West African oil is an important aim of the evolving shifts in U.S. global power projection.

The intensified U.S. military engagement with Africa signifies the dramatically different way in which Bush views Africa in the post-Sept. 11 world. While Bush was campaigning for the White House more than a year prior to the destruction of the World Trade Center, he declared, "While Africa may be important, it doesn't fit into the national strategic interests, as far as I can see them."

But the president still wants the new U.S. military commitment to Africa to be made squarely on American terms. In accordance with this vision, American troops will be stationed in Africa to reinforce U.S. national security and to protect U.S. investments in strategic resources, mainly oil. Washington does not intend to become heavily involved in efforts to quell local conflicts in Africa.

American strategic thinkers continue to be strongly influenced by the failure of the U.S.-led intervention in Somalia a decade ago. President Bill Clinton quickly abandoned that military operation after 18 soldiers were killed in an ambush in Mogadishu in 1993. Since then, the Pentagon has been firmly opposed to inserting forces into chaotic situations in countries of little or no strategic importance to the United States.

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NATION IN BRIEF

WHAT DO THE U.S., IRAN & NIGERIA HAVE IN COMMON?

Amnesty International is criticizing the United States for being one of the few countries that still executes people who committed crimes when they were children. Over the past decade there have been reports of 20 such executions worldwide. Thirteen of those occurred in the U.S. Other countries that execute juveniles include the Democratic Republic of Congo, Iran, Nigeria, Pakistan and Yemen.

GOP ATTORNEY GENERALS SEEK POLITICAL \$\$\$ FROM CORPORATE DEFENDANTS

Six Republican state attorney generals recently solicited major political donations from corporations that they were suing, the *Washington Post* reports. Attorney generals from Texas, Alaska, Virginia, Delaware, South Carolina and Ohio solicited hundreds of thousands of dollars for the Republican National Committee from Pfizer, MasterCard, Eli Lilly, Anheuser-Busch, Citigroup, U.S. Steel, General Motors, Microsoft and Shell Oil.

BUSH STILL TAKING ENRON-LINKED CAMPAIGN FUNDS

Over the past three months President Bush raised \$34 million, more than all nine of his Democratic rivals combined. At least \$200,000 was raised by Enron-connected Texan Nancy Kinder. She is the former personal assistant to Enron Chairman Kenneth Lay and is the wife of Richard Kinder, the former president of Enron. During the 2000 race, Lay and Enron together donated \$2 million to Bush.

FBI FAILED TO UNCOVER SAUDI-9/11 CONNECTIONS

A soon-to-be released 900-page Congressional report on Sept. 11 found the FBI repeatedly blew chances to uncover the attack plot, *Newsweek* reports. At one point, two of the future hijackers lived in the San Diego home of a professor who was a longtime FBI asset. The report also raises new questions as to the role of the Saudi government. It reveals that Saudi Omar Al Bayoumi, who helped two of the hijackers get housing in San Diego, spent one day in January 2000 at the Saudi consulate in Los Angeles then immediately went to meet two of the future hijackers. But the true extent of the Saudi connections to Sept. 11 may never be publicly known. *Newsweek* reports the White House has refused to declassify a 28-page segment that deals with the Saudi and other foreign governments.

COMFORTING THE COMFORTABLE

Judging by sales, Hummers are hotter than a burning oil well in spite of their dismal gas mileage. For those who want something still bigger, there's the 20-seat, stretch Hummer limo (with four bars!) available from Diamond Limousine in Utah. Some might be put off by the gas-guzzler tax that applies to all limousines. But not to worry. Rep. Dave Camp (R-MI) has introduced H.R. 2622, which would amend the IRS code to exempt limos weighing more than three tons, such as the stretch Hummer, from the tax.

LIBERIA'S MISERIES NOT JUST TAYLOR-MADE

BY GERALD CAPLAN

I once drove across West Africa from Sierra Leone to Nigeria, where I was living. Even at the time, it was an extraordinarily reckless venture. Today, the very idea of such a journey is ludicrous. Sierra Leone? Liberia? Ivory Coast? Guinea? All are in turmoil. That's why there's such pressure on President George W. Bush to intervene against Liberian President Charles Taylor, who is responsible for much of the conflict in all four countries. What is less known is that the United States is substantially responsible for Charles Taylor.

Tyrants don't materialize out of the blue. They're a product of their circumstances, just as ordinary men and young boys don't turn into sadistic killers unless they've been brutalized. Liberia has been cursed with almost a century and a half of appalling governments that have been actively supported by the United States, for all but the last decade. That's how a Charles Taylor became possible.

Liberia was created in 1821 by Americans who wanted to rid the United States of some of its black slave population. About 20,000 ex-slaves were repatriated to a continent they had never known, where they proceeded to grab the best land for themselves and treat the local Africans as savages. Clearly, even as slaves, they had been Americanized with remarkable success.

Formally, Liberia was one of the rare African states that didn't become a European colony. In a country of perhaps two

million souls, the elite descendants of the Americo-Liberian settlers numbered between 20,000 and 40,000 people. Their role was to support whatever American interests wanted. In 1926, in return for generous considerations, they bestowed on the Firestone and Goodrich companies a 99-year lease for the world's largest rubber estate, which was duly protected by the might of the U.S. Navy.

The Cold War gave a renewed lease of life to Liberia's venal and oppressive elite. Even while Firestone methodically looted the country's natural resources and forced labor became the preferred form of industrial relations, American paranoia about Africa falling prey to Soviet blandishments knew few bounds.

The consequences for the entire continent were devastating. For 40 years the United States embraced a series of vicious dictatorships and nihilistic rebels. In Liberia, America's apparent strategic interest meant a new deal with its Americo-Liberian friends. In return for United States generosity, the Americo-Liberians allowed the Americans to turn their little country into a key Cold War outpost in Africa. While the ruling clique thrived in Monrovia, the seedy old capital, the country stagnated and the vast majority of rural Liberians simmered with resentment. Against the ethnic exclusivism of the Americo-Liberians, other Liberians turned in solidarity to their own ethnic groups or, as West-erners prefer saying, their tribes.

In 1980, a little-known, barely educated sergeant named Samuel Doe, who had been trained by the American Green Berets, stormed the president's mansion, disemboweled the corrupt old head of state, turned the country into the preserve of his own small ethnic group, and was promptly embraced by the United States. Samuel Doe was dumb as a door, yet savvy enough to protect American interests as his predecessors had done.

A grateful America responded. Between 1980 and 1985, this brutal, tyrannical, destructive regime received more than \$5 billion from the United States — more per capita than any other country in Africa. Doe's successor, Charles Taylor, indicted for crimes against humanity, is another benchmark. He is one of many American chickens coming home to roost in Africa.

The Bush administration now believes it needs Africa to combat terrorism, as a giant market for American products, and for its abundance of high-quality oil. It needs Liberia to be stable. But after a century of American-backed regimes and corporations, the Liberian people also need to become a nation again — an enormously difficult and expensive project.

Bush should intervene not out of great humanitarian motives, but out of basic accountability. For damages knowingly incurred, his country owes Liberians compensation in full.

Gerald Caplan is the author of Rwanda: The Preventable Genocide. This article originally appeared in the Toronto Globe & Mail.

THE ANTI-WORKER ECONOMY

THE RECESSION'S OVER, WE'RE TOLD.
SO WHY ARE SO MANY OF US STILL OUT OF WORK?

BY ERIC LAURSEN

Haldane Associates, a ritzy New York "career management firm," announced early last month that "a growing number of job hunters are willing to accept positions for which they are clearly overqualified." But don't despair, once and future investment bankers. "Taking a step down doesn't have the negative impact that it used to have," soothed Haldane chair Jerry Weinger. "A surprising number of people are in the same position, and many have managed to climb back up the career ladder."

Nice to hear if your resume includes an MBA or a JD, but the rest of us are more likely to be concentrating on the grim new figures released from Washington early this month, when the Bureau of Labor Statistics placed the national unemployment rate at 6.4 percent.

Economists aren't like the rest of us, though, and strangely enough, there was still a lot of debate this month about what kind of an economy we're really living in. On July 18, the National Bureau of Economic Research declared that the recession lasted only from March to November of 2001. For mysterious reasons, this privately funded, right-leaning think tank is accepted as the "official" judge of when recessions begin and end.

Asked by the *Wall Street Journal* to explain this surreal pronouncement, one member of the NBER's committee on economic cycles would say only that it had decided to "demote" unemployment as a factor in its calculations. Instead, it leaned on the fact that the gross domestic product has grown each quarter since November 2001, a statistic that doesn't necessarily imply prosperity for workers.

A Grim Outlook

This "jobless recovery" – the second in the last 12 years – is affecting workers in every industry and at every level of income, as Haldane Associates reminds us.

Formerly high-growth sectors like services and technology aren't cushioning the drop. And for Hispanics and African-Americans, who entered the workforce at a faster rate than whites in the late nineties, the "last one in, first one out" rule seems to apply. Unemployment jumped to over 11 percent for blacks in June, and over 8 percent for Hispanics.

In fact, wages have dropped every quarter for the last five, threatening the only two bright spots in the economy – housing and consumer spending. As wages sag, consumers and mortgage holders find it harder to make debt payments. If credit card and finance companies run out of creative ways to keep borrowers afloat, the result could be a wave of bankruptcies and a collapse in housing – and the dreaded "double-dip" recession could be upon us.

How did we get here? Many high-tech industries overproduced in the 1990s and today have too few buyers for their products. That can take a long time to work its way through the economy. There's also American businesses' increasing capacity to outsource jobs and even entire lines of production to low-wage countries – something that was much harder for them to do during the recession of the early nineties. Today, when it finds itself in a revenue crunch, management can lay off workers

THE REAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE

6.4%, 10.6%, OR MORE?

BY VANESSA HRADSKY

Unemployment is just one measure of how bad the economy is. Underemployment, which tends to rise and fall in lockstep with actual joblessness, completes the picture.

The "underemployed" include part-time workers who are looking for full-time jobs and people who have given up looking at all. While U.S. unemployment rose to 6.4 percent in June, the underemployment rate now stands at 10.6 percent, the highest since September 1994, according to estimates by the Economic Policy Institute. Also left out are people working part-time (as little as one hour/month) and the homeless, who often suspend job searches to deal with the daily challenges of finding shelter.

The official unemployment figures do not accurately reflect the percentage of the population looking for work. When you add discouraged and marginally attached workers to the official unemployment rate, it rises to 7.4 percent. Add in part-time workers who say they want more work and the rate jumps to 10.6 percent (see box). And that still leaves out the homeless. At last count on June 17, 2003, the NYC Department of Homeless Services estimated that there were 38,453 homeless in the city alone, a big increase from 27,799 in 2001. Nationwide, the estimate was 3.5 million. Who says the country is no longer in a recession? (Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics)

who do everything from make auto components to create software programs to staff credit-card call centers and send their work to Mexico, India or the Philippines.

Also, worker productivity has actually accelerated during the recession, meaning employers can produce more goods and services before they need to raise wages or hire more people. So even though the GDP is expected to grow by 3.7 percent in the second half of this year, this won't raise wages or lower unemployment much because employers will reach that mark with simply a bit more productivity and some new workers entering the labor force.

White House Policies

Washington is not helping. "Bush has played all his cards and the economy is still not doing very well," says Larry Mishel, president of the Economic Policy Institute and co-author of its annual volume, *The State of Working America*. The Federal Reserve has reduced its benchmark discount rate to the lowest level in decades. The Treasury Department has allowed the dollar to lose value, hoping U.S. manufacturers sell more goods overseas. And the White House has pushed through three record tax cuts, ostensibly to help stimulate the economy.

That's where Mishel sees Bush falling down. While the tax cuts total nearly \$2 trillion, only about \$210 billion of that will actually enter the economy this year and next. That means we can expect little in the way of direct, job-creating stimulus at the time the economy really needs it. And without it, Mishel expects unemployment to stay about where it is for some time.

FUZZY MATH

Official unemployment rate vs. Adjusted unemployment rates
June, 2003

(SOURCE: BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS)

Total official national unemployment rate:	New York City unemployment totals:
6.4%	7.7%
National unemployment rate including total unemployed, plus discouraged workers, plus all other marginally attached workers:	New York State unemployment totals:
7.4%	6.1%
National unemployment rate including total unemployed, plus all marginally attached workers, plus total employed part time for economic reasons:	
10.6%	



Some Bush policies, in fact, are working directly against the need for recession relief. This year, the individual states faced a combined shortfall of \$100 billion due to the collapse of their tax revenues. Bush's original tax cut package included no extra money for the states, though the governors were asking for \$60 billion. In the final package that Bush signed they got only \$20 billion. As a result, school budgets are being slashed, city and state office staff are doubling as janitors, and Medicaid recipients are facing big cuts in benefits.

Part of the solution: Put people to work.

Organizing Workers

"If someone gave me \$2 trillion to spend, we could hand checks to workers to build things," says Mishel. "States and school districts are cutting back even though they have things they need done and know how to do them. Instead, we're throwing money away by reducing taxes on dividends and capital gains and increasing tax cuts for the rich."

But many of the forces that keep workers from participating in economic growth are now hard-wired into the American political system. Labor laws and court decisions make it ever harder for workers to organize unions. This needs to be reversed, Mishel says.

But first, workplaces themselves will have to become less threatening places for people. Barbara Ehrenreich, author of the service-sector *Nickel and Dimed*, is arguing for an employees' bill of rights that would, for example, stop bosses from forcing employees to attend anti-union indoctrination meetings while freezing organizers out of such meetings.

Workers can also support unionization drives by their brothers and sisters in low-wage countries. And of course, they must keep pressuring U.S. companies not to use sweatshop labor to drive down domestic wages. Stubbornly low wages and high unemployment in the United States are a political as much as an economic problem. As with any other political problem, the solution is to organize.

GET A JOB!



By A.K. GUPTA

So you're unemployed. Big fucking deal, join the crowd. Yeah, you're smart enough to know that while the unemployment rate is 6.4 percent, there's nearly twice as many shlumps beating the streets or pounding the keyboard in search of some moolah to pay the bills and still have enough left over for a couple of pints. That's some 20 million desperate job-seekers.

It's an ugly economy out there. There are no Bushvilles, yet, but

the middle class has been increasingly squeezed for 30 years now, and America may be entering a long-term decline.

So what to do? You can always learn to say "Would you like to supersize that?" But who wants to eat made-in-a-factory e. coli burgers, much less sling them? You didn't go to college for that. The humiliation alone isn't worth it. There's always folding sweaters at the Gap or becoming a barista at Starbucks, the battered survivors of the new economy. They may be touchy-feely, but they're still big-time corporate sleazeballs. And \$8.00 an hour ain't going to do much for your retirement.

Maybe you should have gotten a business degree like your parents warned you, instead of that useless liberal arts degree. Sure it enriched your mind, but not your wallet.

It's time to take stock and think about your options. No, not grad school. Getting a PhD in musicology or philosophy isn't going to do anything but leave you older and poorer, all for the privilege of having a few more letters to tack onto your name.

Of course you can just drop out. "Live a life free of work and money," as some say. Sure. But it's also a life free of healthcare and housing.

What you need to do is get some cash quick. Then you can buy yourself a hovel in Mexico and have enough left over to live off the savings.

YOU HAVE 5 BASIC OPTIONS

Entrepreneurship

That's right, go into business for yourself. Maybe you're a good cook or artisan, or have the next great consumer invention, like hair in a can. All you have to do is beg, borrow and steal every bit of cash you can from your family and friends. Then set up shop in your apartment or garage. Just be prepared to work 16 hours a day, seven days a week for years, and hope some giant multinational doesn't steal your idea and send an army of lawyers to tie up your claim until the universe goes cold. Even then, unless you have business skills and a knack for marketing, your little enterprise could falter at any point for a thousand different reasons.

Speculation

Contrary to popular belief, the financial markets are not purely random. You can make piles of cash through speculation (as opposed to investment) – just ask George Soros. It only requires tremendous amounts of study, an understanding of group psychology, mathematics and financial instruments, and nerves of steel. The tech bubble may have popped, but there's always a new one inflating – in currency, derivatives, commodities, real estate, etc. – in which money is chasing after money. It's far from easy though. Assuming you can get over the ethical qualms of being a parasite, you're swimming with sharks who'll eat you like chum if you give them half a chance. Plus, you need a chunk of change, at least \$10,000, to begin with. And, yes, you can be wiped out overnight if you're not careful.

Criminalization

Many a seventies-era millionaire was made smuggling in smoke or blow over the border. Back then, you only had to worry about some hick sheriff and his half-brother deputy trying to bust you. Now it's the DEA, FBI and Pentagon that want to nab your hippie ass and lock it away forever in some supermax. Forget about heroin or crack, unless you're into guns and paranoia. Your best bet is to move to Northern California where no one is going to bother you for growing a couple dozen plants of super-hybridized dank bud that fetches more ounce-per-ounce than gold. (Just don't smoke up all of your profits.)

Primitive Capital Accumulation

Use your brawn, not your brains. Who's going to get rich becoming a day laborer, you say? I'm not suggesting you line up at the 7-11 at 6am with Mexican immigrants, hoping to get eight hours of work and trusting you'll actually get paid. Mainly because immigrants will work harder and longer for less than your coddled American ass ever will. What you can do is decamp to the Great White North where there's an oil rush in progress. With a little training, you can soon be making U.S. \$50,000+ a year hauling a rig or fitting pipes in some of the most beautiful wilderness in the world (which, incidentally, you would be helping to despoil). Just pack plenty of thermal underwear for those days when the high temperature is –37.

Professionalization

Go to med school or law school. You rack up tons of debt, but your earning power is vast, as long as you're willing to slave away for 15-20 years. You can do something noble like "help the poor," but then what's the point of incurring all that debt? You can make a fortune, but it will probably involve liposuctioning the tits off middle-aged Casanova wannabes or defending sleazy telemarketing companies. Not very palatable. Your better option is to become a physician's assistant or pharmacist. Both degrees require much less time and money, but you can still command a six-figure salary. Just be warned: you'll have to listen all day to old people complaining about their ailments and no-good children as you either write out their prescriptions or fill them.

To be fair, there are many noble vocations that won't leave you in the poor house – becoming a school teacher, a social worker, a civil servant. While you're spending 30 years trying to make progress one kid at a time, just hope an increasingly emboldened (and crazy) right-wing doesn't bankrupt your pension funds or Social Security. Or you could just become an activist and know that despite your self-imposed penury you fought the good fight. But it sure sucks being poor.

POLICY

PUBLIC WORKS?

By A.K. GUPTA

To revive the faltering economy, the Bush administration has resurrected Reagan's discredited supply-side economics. The theory is that the wealthy will reinvest their lavish tax cuts, thereby both pulling the national economy out of its stall and filling government coffers.

The reality, then and now, is far different. The wealthy, being wealthy, tend to save additional income. The money they do spend is mainly on luxury goods, palatial homes and foreign vacations. Very little is actually invested; not that it would help in any case. There are currently too many plants making too many goods – be it cars, cell phones or computers – so new investments will do little to get the economy going again.

To Bush, tax cuts are a wonder tonic despite the loss of 2.7 million jobs under his watch. Over the next decade, the rich will add an average of \$200 billion a year to their treasure hoards. The Pentagon, intelligence agencies and homeland defense have also hit the jackpot, garnering \$100 billion a year in new funding.

The result? The Republicans' spend-and-burn fiscal policies have pushed the federal budget deep in the red, with an estimated \$475 billion deficit next year.

The Democrats, meanwhile, have replaced the Republicans as the party of austerity, blasting Bush over the record deficit. There is nothing wrong with running a deficit, however. Classical Keynesian economics calls for "priming the pump" during a recession by spurring demand and consumption through increased government spending. The Democrats' solution is tax cuts and credits aimed at the middle class and low-income workers. While helpful, the few hundred dollars a year per taxpayer they propose doesn't amount to much.

A bolder approach would be to advocate public works programs on the scale of the New Deal. The money is certainly there. Repeal the tax cuts and military increases, eliminate the costs of occupying Iraq and Afghanistan (\$5 billion combined per month) and you have a quick \$360 billion. The need is there, with more than 20 million Americans in search of work. And there are plenty of public works to be done – new schools, clinics and hospitals, parks, toxic waste cleanup, reforestation programs and wetlands reclamation, and housing. Hell, you can even throw in a high-speed national rail network.

Some 8 million people could be hired for \$25,000 a year, costing \$200 billion annually. The real unemployment rate would be reduced by 4 percent. Then there's the multiplier effect: the workers would pay taxes to local and state governments, which would likely rehire laid-off workers, and lower-income workers spend almost all their income on local goods and services, boosting regional economies. A \$300 billion-a-year public works program would get the economy roaring again, increasing the GDP by as much as six percent.

The numbers:

- One study pegged the average cost of building an 86,000-square-foot public school at \$8.5 million. For \$25.5 billion a year 3,000 similar-sized schools could be built.
- A new library addition with a shelving capacity of almost 100,000 items in the town of Newport, Rhode Island cost \$7.24 million. For \$14.5 billion a year 2,000 such libraries could be built.
- In Australia, a 200-bed public hospital was recently built for U.S. \$30 million. Assume double the cost. That means 300 hospitals of the same size could be constructed every year for \$18 billion.
- The high-end price tag for one mile of completely new high-speed rail (averaging 125 mph) is \$25 million. Over the next decade, the government could build a state-of-the-art 10,000-mile national rail system for \$25 billion per year.
- An academic study in Virginia put the cost of reforesting an acre from \$75 to \$250. Even at the upper end, 10 million acres a year could be reforested for just \$2.5 billion.
- One analysis by the Bureau of Land Management estimates the cost of reclaiming one acre of wetlands at \$2,000 to \$7,000. To reclaim a million acres of wetlands a year would cost at most \$7 billion.
- Habitat for Humanity says it can build a three-bedroom home for just \$35,000. Assume double the costs as its labor is donated. So at \$70,000 a home, the government could build 5 million homes over the next decade for \$35 billion a year.

The Democrats' usual excuse is that public works are not possible with Republicans in charge. But jobs programs such as Americorps have not only been highly popular with the public, but have provided the Democrats with a useful cudgel to beat the Republicans for their anti-worker and pro-rich class warfare. The problem is that the Democrats are so tied to corporate interests (and labor unions so weak) that there is no organized base to pressure the government for jobs.

The Democrats can take a risk by arguing that the government can and should take an active role in creating jobs. Or they can continue their Republican-lite policies, playing it safe for now, but assuring their irrelevance in the long term.

WARS

THEY'VE LIED US INTO

By JOHN TARLETON

In Homer's *Iliad*, King Agamemnon uses the abduction of his sister-in-law Helen as a pretext to mobilize his fellow Greeks into launching a disastrous 10-year war against the Trojans. Heads of state have been goading, misleading and deceiving their fellow citizens into war ever since; U.S. presidents being no exception.

JAMES POLK: MEXICAN-AMERICAN WAR (1846-1847)

When Texas joined the Union in 1845, President James Polk ordered the army to move to the Rio Grande River, 150 miles south of Texas's traditional border with Mexico. Col. Ethan Allen Hitchcock wrote in his diary, "We have not one particle of right to be here... It looks as if the government sent a small force on purpose to bring on a war, so as to have a pretext for taking California and as much of this country as it chooses." When Mexican guerrillas ambushed an army detachment shortly thereafter, Polk had his excuse, "War exists, notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it," he told Congress. "We are called upon by every consideration of duty and patriotism to vindicate with decision the honor, the rights, and the interests of our country." Within two years, U.S. forces would occupy Mexico City and seize control of the territory that would become California, Arizona, New Mexico, and parts of Nevada and Utah.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY: SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR (1898)

When the U.S.S. Maine blew up in the Havana harbor in February 1898, William Randolph Hearst (see accompanying article) and other leading newspapermen pressed the case for war against Spain, though there was no evidence linking Spain to the explosion. President McKinley repeated the claims before Congress and led the nation into a war that ended with the United States taking control of Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines.

WOODROW WILSON: WORLD WAR I (1917-1918)

President Woodrow Wilson was re-elected in 1916 on the promise to keep the U.S. out of Europe's "Great War," which had already consumed millions of lives. Bankers and industrialists like J.P. Morgan were providing tens of millions of dollars in loans and materials for the British war effort against Germany. In April 1917, Wilson changed from a dove to a hawk and persuaded Congress to approve U.S. entry into an unpopular conflict that was now repackaged as a "war to end all wars" and "to make the world safe for democracy."

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT: WORLD WAR II (1941-45)

World War II is remembered as "The Good War." Yet, building widespread public support for entering the war against Nazi Germany and its allies proved to be elusive until the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on Dec. 7, 1941. Isolationist sentiment was swept away overnight. Fifty years later Robert Stinnett's exhaustively researched *Day of Deceit* revealed that President Franklin D. Roosevelt had advance knowledge of an impending Japanese attack but did nothing to prevent it.

LYNDON JOHNSON: VIETNAM WAR (1964-75)

On Aug. 4, 1964, President Lyndon Johnson told a national television audience that communist North Vietnam had launched an "unprovoked" attack on a U.S. destroyer on Aug. 2 and that North Vietnamese PT boats followed up with a "deliberate attack" on a pair of U.S. ships two days later. Congress quickly authorized the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution (with only two dissenting voices) that gave Johnson sweeping powers to launch massive air attacks on North Vietnam. U.S. troop deployments in Vietnam grew from thousands of "advisors" to over a half-million in the next four years. Ultimately, millions of Vietnamese and 58,000 American soldiers would perish before U.S. forces fled from Vietnam in disgrace in 1975.

MEDIA

SELLING WAR

JINGO JOURNALISM THEN & NOW

By DONALD PANETH

In 1895, William Randolph Hearst's mother gave him \$7.5 million. His father had made a fortune in the silver, gold and copper mines of the West, bought the *San Francisco Examiner* in 1880 and been elected to the United States Senate in 1888. Hearst the younger, headed for New York City, purchased the *New York Journal*, and set out to challenge Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World*, which had become the largest newspaper enterprise in America. Before he was done, Hearst managed to help set off a little-remembered war that bears an uncanny resemblance to the recent invasion of Iraq.

Hearst first made his mark with scurrilous headlines.

"What made him a burglar. A story of real life."

"Why young girls kill themselves."

"Mlle. Anna Held receives Allan Dale, attired in a nightie."

Hearst installed color presses and printed a Sunday colored-comic section. "The Yellow Kid," a comic that made light of life in the city's crowded tenements, became wildly popular. The North Atlantic Naval Squadron steamed out of two solid-color supplement pages. In their struggle for circulation, the *Journal* and the *World* propagandized for Cuban independence and for war with Spain.

The Spanish-American War of 1898 followed the sinking of the U.S. battleship Maine with the loss of 260 men.

Journalistic jingoism — atrocity stories, lurid illustrations, marching-on editorials — excited the country.

Headlines stirred war fever: "Destruction of the warship Maine was the work of the enemy. \$50,000 REWARD! For the detection of the perpetrator of the Maine outrage!"

Hearst presented his yacht *Buccaneer* to the nation. He went to Cuba to direct coverage of the war by a corps of *Journal* reporters, artists and photographers.

Stephen Crane covered the war first for the *Journal*, later for the



WAR FEVER: Crowds mobbed newspaper offices on eve of war with Spain.

World; Frederic Remington for the *Journal*; Frank Norris and Richard Harding Davis for the *World*. Crane recollected that he had gone off to Cuba "as jaunty as a real soldier, while all the time my heart was in my boots and I was cursing the day that saw me landed on the shores of the tragic isle."

The circulation of the *Journal* soared to 1.5 million and that of the *World* nearly as high.

To the familiar exaggerations of sensationalism, Hearst and Pulitzer's journalism had added the elements of misrepresentation and falsehood — scare headlines printed in huge black or red type, faked pictures and stories, reckless editorials, the superficiality of the Sunday supplement.

"True, the yellow journalists trumpeted their concern for 'the people,'" wrote Edwin Emery in

The Press and America, "...but at the same time... Theirs was a shrieking, gaudy, sensation-loving... kind of journalism.... Worst of all... it offered a palliative of sin, sex and violence."

E. L. Godkin, editor of *The Nation*, observed: "The reason why such journals lie is that it pays to lie. They supply a want of a demoralized public."

Today, the mass media is no better. It misrepresents and misleads. It repeats the lies of official pronouncements. It questions and inquires into nothing.

The public is railroaded, overwhelmed. The masquerade goes on. Who will unmask the confidence men?

Donald Paneth formerly worked as a reporter for The New York Times. He is the author of *The Encyclopedia of American Journalism*.

As for the Gulf of Tonkin "incident," the truth only came out in the 1980s. "Our destroyers were just shooting at phantom targets — there were no PT boats there," said retired Adm. James Stockdale who was flying overhead that night as the commander of a squadron of Navy fighter planes. "There was nothing there but black water and American firepower."

RONALD REAGAN: CENTRAL AMERICA (1980s)

During the 1980s, the U.S. poured billions of dollars of arms into Central America fueling three civil wars that left over 200,000 people dead. Nicaragua, an impoverished nation of 3 million with a leftist Sandinista government, was a focal point of U.S. intrigue. On election night 1984, the TV networks were abuzz with reports of satellite photos of mysterious shipping crates being unloaded in Nicaragua that could contain Soviet MIG fighter planes. Reagan administration officials would back off from those assertions the following day, but the die was cast. When pressuring Congress for more funding for his anti-Communist crusade, President Reagan would later warn that Nicaragua is "a mor-

tal threat to the entire New World." In fact he noted, "the Sandinistas are just two days drive from Harlingen, Texas."

GEORGE BUSH, SR: GULF WAR I (1991)

In October, 1990, a 15-year-old Kuwaiti girl, identified only as Nayirah, appeared in Washington before the House of Representatives' Human Rights Caucus. She testified that Iraqi soldiers who had invaded Kuwait that Aug. 2 ripped hundreds of babies from hospital incubators and killed them.

America's old ally Saddam Hussein quickly became "a tyrant worse than Hitler" in the lexicon of Bush Sr. and his supporters. Wavering Democrats would cite the incubator testimony as a key reason for supporting a declaration of war against Iraq.

In the war that followed, 150,000 Iraqis were killed. Investigations by outside groups including Amnesty International found no evidence for the incubator story. As for Nayirah, it was later revealed that she was the daughter of the Kuwaiti ambassador to Washington and that her fabricated testimony was coached by PR giant Hill & Knowlton.

IRAQUPATION

IRAQIS & GIs AGREE: 'BRING THE TROOPS HOME NOW'

BY MIKE BURKE

As the Bush administration comes under increasing criticism for repeatedly misleading the American public on the threat Iraq posed before the invasion, another key intelligence question must be asked: how did the U.S. calculate so poorly what would happen in Iraq after Saddam Hussein fell.

Since the invasion started, 238 American troops have been killed, 117 during the invasion, 121 after Baghdad fell. The estimated cost of war has doubled to nearly \$4 billion per month. Thousands of Iraqis protest regularly calling on the United States to leave. Allies including India refuse to contribute troops. And U.S. troop morale has plummeted.

One GI told ABC News, "I've got my own 'Most Wanted' list. The aces in my deck are Paul Bremer, Donald Rumsfeld, George Bush and Paul Wolfowitz." Another added, "I used to want to help these people, but now, I don't really care about them anymore." The troops were both in the Second Brigade of the Third Infantry Division. The Pentagon first told them they would be headed home in May. Then June. Then July. Then August. And now the Pentagon says they will be in Iraq indefinitely.

The Bush administration reacted to the comments not by trying to alleviate the problems but by lashing out at the soldiers and the journalist who broadcast the report. The soldiers face possible court martial and the journalist was the target of a bizarre attack by the White House press office. The *Washington Post* reports the White House tipped the online Drudge Report to the facts that the ABC reporter was (gasp!) gay and Canadian. Obviously not one to be trusted.

But then again should we have trusted predictions that the Iraq would be a "cakewalk" (neoconservative hawk Ken Adelman) or that U.S. soldiers "will be greeted with sweets and flowers," as Kanan Makiya of the Iraqi National Congress said.

The wives of the Third Infantry know this is no cakewalk. Some have become widows, others have waited months for their loved ones to come home.

In Fort Stewart, Georgia, a colonel had to be escorted out by security from a recent meeting with 800 spouses, most of them wives. One official told the *New York Times*, "They were crying, cussing, yelling and screaming for their men to come back."

The reaction of Iraqis in Iraq to the American presence appears to be quite similar.

On July 19, over 10,000 Shiite Iraqis protested in Baghdad and Najaf after rumors that the U.S. would arrest cleric Moqtada al Sadr. The Najaf-based cleric has protested the U.S.-formed Iraqi governing council and has said he will form an independent Islamic army. "We are neither for Saddam nor for the Americans," Sadr said.

The Bush administration has been making attempts to put a less American face on the occupation. First they tried to get India to contribute 17,000. India said no. Then there were reports the U.S. corporation Kroll would train a private Iraqi army. And now there is talk that occupation forces will try to train a 7,000-strong Iraqi militia to help police the area.

Security has been a major problem. Human Rights Watch reports women are often afraid to leave their homes as rapes



END OF ILLUSIONS: Thousands of Iraqi civilians have been detained by U.S. forces.

and abductions are on the rise. Workers for aid organizations are also being targeted and killed, hampering humanitarian efforts. The World Food Program — which says that nearly Iraq's entire population of 27 million now needs food aid — has had difficulty transporting food because supply trucks and storage sites are being attacked and looted. The *Christian Science Monitor* reported on July 6 that grenades struck the WFP office in Mosul while in Kirkuk a warehouse was attacked.

Throughout, basic necessities such as electricity and water have become luxuries. London's *Daily Mirror* describes the scene in Baghdad: "Filt and sewage swamp footpaths, and many streets are still covered in debris from 'shock and awe' bombing raids.

"Scores of homeless children lie by the roadside killing time and themselves by sniffing glue. It is hard to find affordable food and water. Electricity is available for just a few hours a day."

As for the homeless children, The *New York Times* reported recently how the U.S. military accidentally mistook an orphanage for a jail and "freed" dozens of children with no families. Many of the children have yet to be located.

As for the U.S. soldiers, many of them sound just as lost as they long for their homes.

Just listen to 28-year-old Eric Holt, a Reserve Infantryman from New York state. Stationed in Baghdad he told the London *Independent*: "We didn't win this war, not at all. I don't know what I'm doing here."

WHAT IS THE COST OF WAR?

Since the war in Iraq began, the mounting costs of war have forced the U.S. to make the following sacrifices in the name of God and country:

9.8 million additional children could attend Head Start
29.7 million additional children could get a year of health care
1.32 million additional schoolteachers could be hired for one year
1.8 million additional four-year scholarships at public universities
17.3 million additional cars could be converted to use natural gas
990 thousand additional affordable housing units built

*Totals based on estimates from the Congressional Budget Office. These figures were calculated on July 20. At the time, the total cost of the Iraq war was about \$69.3 billion. www.costofwar.com



COME LISTEN TO MY STORY 'BOUT A BOY NAMED BUSH...

*His IQ was zero and his head was up his tush.
He drank like a fish while he drove all about.
But that didn't matter 'cuz his daddy bailed him out.
DUI, that is. Criminal record. Cover-up.*

*Well, the first thing you know little Georgie goes to Yale.
He can't spell his name but they never let him fail.
He spends all his time hangin' out with student folk.
And that's when he learns how to snort a line of coke.
Blow, that is. White gold. Nose candy.*

*The next thing you know there's a war in Vietnam.
Kin folks say, "George, stay at home with Mom."
Let the common people get maimed and scarred.
We'll buy you a spot in the Texas Air Guard.
Cushy, that is. Country clubs. Nose candy.*

*Twenty years later George gets a little bored.
He trades in the booze, says that Jesus is his Lord.
He said, "Now the White House is the place I wanna be."
So he called his daddy's friends and they called the GOP.
Fanatics, that is. Jerry Falwell. Jesse Helms.*

*Come November 7, the election ran late.
Kin folks said "Jeb, give the boy your state!"
"Don't let those colored folks get into the polls."
So they put up barricades so they couldn't punch their holes.
Chads, that is. Duval County. Miami-Dade.*

*Before the votes were counted, five Supremes stepped in.
Told all the voters "Hey, we want George to win."
"Stop counting votes!" was their solemn invocation.
And that's how George finally got his coronation.
Rigged, that is. Illegitimate. No moral authority.*

Y'all come vote now. Ya hear?

(In honor of Buddy Ebsen)



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THE INDYPENDENT
212.684.8112

PHOTO: Andy Stern

WHERE CAN I GET MY COPY OF THE INDYPENDENT?

LOWER EAST SIDE

Bluestockings Books
172 Allen

EAST VILLAGE

May Day Books
155 First Ave. (btwn 9 & 10)

SOHO

Housing Works
126 Crosby St.

WEST VILLAGE

LGBT Center
213 W. 13th

UNION SQUARE

Revolution Books
9 W. 19th St.

CHELSEA

Chelsea Sq. Diner
23rd and 9th Ave.

HELL'S KITCHEN

Second Wave Laundromat
55th and 9th Ave.

UPPER EAST SIDE

Hunter College
68th W. Lex, USG Office

UPPER WEST SIDE

Labyrinth Books
112th St. near B'way.

Kim's Video
114th and B'way

WILLIAMSBURG

Clovio Books
N. 4th St. & Bedford Ave.

WASHINGTON HEIGHTS

Monkey Business
187th St. & Ft. Washington

HARLEM

Riverside Church
W. 120th & Claremont

Strictly Roots Restaurant
123rd St. & ACP Blvd.

Harlem Tenants Council
1 W. 125th, Suite 209

PARK SLOPE

Community Book Store
7th and Carroll Sts.

ASTORIA

Broadway Natural Foods

DOWNTOWN BROOKLYN

Soft Skull Press
7 Bond St. & State

STATEN ISLAND

Muddy Cup Coffee House
388 Van Duzer

COBBLE HILL

Tripoli Restaurant
Atlantic & Clinton

WOODSIDE

Queens Pride House
6703 Woodside Ave.

FORT GREENE

Pratt Area Com. Council
201 DeKalb Ave.

BUSHWICK

Make the Road by Walking
301 Grove St.

TRIBECA

In the Black
King and Varick

TIMES SQUARE

Chashama Theatre
135 W. 42 & B'way



OPEN-SOURCE FASHION

WORKER-OWNED COMPANY CHALLENGES SWEATSHOP MODEL FOR MANUFACTURING CLOTHES

BY TONY PECINOVSKY

My friend shops at the GAP. Like most people, she's heard the stories about GAP and slave labor in Indonesia, El Salvador and Cambodia. Or the Honduran factory workers forced to take pregnancy tests and get abortions. But these campaigns have not changed her shopping habits. Why? She just doesn't see other options.

Stylish, sweatshop-free alternatives to GAP fashion are hard to come by — a shortcoming that undermines the anti-sweatshop movement. Those in the garment industry willing to do what's right don't have the marketing clout of a juggernaut like GAP, so few people even know that they exist.

One alternative to sweatshop-produced clothing is Sweat-X, an employee-owned and unionized garment manufacturer founded in 2001. Sweat-X has created what it calls a "socially conscious business model." By incorporating values like union representation, living wages and transparent decision-making processes into its model, Sweat-X sets an example for other "sweat-free" manufacturers.

Sweat-X believes that "consumers are an untapped resource [able] to drive industry change," at the same time acknowledging that consumers have "historically had few choices they could trust."

Sweat-X is not the only company taking this approach. American Apparel and No Sweat also do business with the well-being of workers in mind.

American Apparel says it is in a process of "redefining the American dream." The company's mission statement says, "A global divide exists between the haves and have-nots and too often the apparel industry has participated in the suppression of the poor. The challenge... is to establish new ways of doing business that are efficient and profitable without exploiting workers."

No Sweat claims to be the "world's first open-source apparel manufacturer." Most garment manufacturers operate on a closed-source model, hiding their manufacturer from competitors, who will want to get the same cut-rate labor prices, and from consumers who take offense to sweatshop labor.

With companies like these providing consumer alternatives, the challenge is to get the word out. This is where the 13 million-member AFL-CIO can play a strategic and mutually beneficial role. As one of the only progressive institutions with the resources and the incentive to encourage a union-made fashion industry, they must take on this responsibility by backing fashionable sweatshop-free alternatives.

If the AFL-CIO turns its attention to marketing stylish union-made clothing, it will be able to put substantial economic pressure on corporations that use sweatshops.

The United Auto Workers (UAW) has demonstrated how effective this sort of pressure can be. With 500,000 active and 700,000 retired members, the UAW has created a solid bloc of people who buy only union-made cars. By giving discounts and incentives to UAW members when they buy union-made cars, the UAW has proven that buying union-made products can equal job security for union members.

Imagine a 13 million-member consumer bloc that bought only union-made clothes. That would make one hell of a dent in GAP's market share. But without AFL-CIO support, it is just a dream.

So my friend continues to shop at GAP. I can criticize, but I can't blame her. Until an AFL-CIO backed garment manufacturer begins to produce fashionable clothes, where else are we going to find cool khakis, summer tees and cargo shorts?



LEARNING THE BASICS: Crystal Cirilo reads to Helena Sanchez (L) and Amarais Serrano (R) in a Spanish Harlem class. PHOTO: Emily Baron

HEAD START STALLS

PROPOSED BILL THREATENS THRIVING CHILD EDUCATION PROGRAM

BY CHRIS FLEISHER

A bill currently before the House is threatening hundreds of federal workers as the Bush administration supports a massive "overhaul" of the highly successful 20-year-old Head Start program, a child development program for low-income preschool children.

The bill includes a pilot program to allow up to eight states to take over administration of Head Start from the federal government and combine it with existing state preschool programs. Opponents fear that fiscally challenged state governments may be tempted to siphon money from Head Start to satisfy other financial needs. It would also exempt states from complying with current federal Head Start standards.

President Bush claims that by providing funding through direct block grants, individual states will be able to streamline Head Start with other childhood education programs.

But insiders working within the program disagree with the move.

"The Board of Ed here is in a lot of trouble and the quality of the support that the students receive is very poor. We provide so much support to the family... that's why it's so successful for the students," says Rita Prats, a program director of the East Harlem Council for Human Services. "Coming together with another educational institution would be detrimental." She

says that other programs might have different, less effective, modes of assessment that Head Start would be forced to use.

In an attempt to chill criticism of the proposed changes, the Department of Health and Human Services sent a letter to Head Start programs across the country in early May threatening teachers, parents and volunteers with civil action or jail time for speaking out against the measures.

The Bush administration withdrew the letter on July 2, only after the National Head Start Association filed a first Amendment lawsuit.

Prats is concerned by talk of a more advanced curriculum.

"In terms of our curriculum, we make sure that when our students go to kindergarten, they know how to read and write," says Prats. "And now [the government] wants to assess us, which is a big mistake. They call it an assessment, but in reality, it's a test... for children four years old. I saw the test and it's absurd. Very complicated."

Advocates of the program claim that the administration's attempts to define Head Start on educational criterion severely undermines the value of the additional services that it provides to both the child and his or her family.

Founded at a high point of the civil rights movement in 1965, Head Start aimed at breaking the cycle of poverty by improving the development of low-income children, addressing medical, dental, emo-

tional, and nutritional needs while meeting educational goals.

"The students have their breakfast, lunch and a snack," says Prats. "I have to say, you see some of the children eat and you can tell that they don't have that much at home. This really makes a difference."

Children are given only fresh and frozen food as opposed to canned food, and both parents and children are educated on good nutritional habits. A possible cut in funds might force many programs to forgo nutrition education in order to pay the salaries for certified teachers.

The bill before the House has generated outrage among child educators. Though most would agree that raising standards is sometimes necessary, Head Start advocates say that the means for doing this would be undercut by moving funds to the states and, thereby, removing nation-wide standards for the program.

So far, 20 million children have graduated from Head Start. Studies indicate that graduates of the program are less likely to need special education or repeat a grade, have lower delinquency rates and go on to higher education more frequently than their non-Head Start counterparts, and are also less likely to be charged or convicted of a crime.

"This could be the beginning of the dismantling of Head Start," says Prats. "And the ironic thing is that Head Start is a program that is proven to work!"

BUSH TO WORKING PEOPLE: KISS OVERTIME PAY GOODBYE

BY TONY PECINOVSKY

Up to 8 million people may lose their overtime pay while being forced to work longer hours and maintain uncertain work schedules if proposed changes to the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) are approved.

The Bush Administration has labeled these new changes as "family friendly," while labor groups charge it would roll back federal labor law 65 years by eradicating the 40-hour work week for millions.

Under the proposal, millions of workers making over \$22,101 would lose access to overtime as their positions would be reclassified as executive, administrative or professional employees.

Meanwhile the Bush Administration claims its plan would aid more

low-income workers. Under current law, only workers who make under \$8,000 are guaranteed overtime for working more than 40 hours in a week. If approved, the cap would rise to just over \$22,000. But many of those job classifications, like fast food employees, gas station clerks and retail sales people, are already covered.

On the negative side, any workers — the Economic Policy Institute estimates 8 million, the Labor Department says only 644,000 — making between \$22,100 and \$65,000 will lose their overtime benefits and almost no one earning more than \$65,000 will be eligible anymore for overtime.

On July 10, the House voted 213-210 to back the proposed changes. The Senate will soon be taking up the measure.

CONGRESS BLOCKS MEDIA MONOPOLY • LYNNE STEWART CHARGES DROPPED

BIG BROTHER BACKDOWN

By Mike Burke

In a stunning 24-hour period on July 22 and 23, the Republican-controlled U.S. House of Representatives voted to repeal a major provision of the USA Patriot Act and voted to overturn a key portion of the Federal Communications Commission new media ownership rules.

Also on June 22 a federal judge rebuked Attorney General John Ashcroft and dropped the top two charges against embattled civil rights attorney Lynne Stewart. The decision may force the Justice Department to stop arresting people for providing undefined "material support" to designated terror organizations.

The events marked a surprising trifecta of victories for civil libertarians and media reformers.

Patriot Act

On July 21, the House voted 309 to 118 to stop the Justice Department from secretly searching homes, confiscating evidence and bugging computers. Over the past two years 47 of these "sneak and peek" searches have been carried out.

"The fact that almost all Democrats voted for the provision, and over half the Republicans did, showed the Justice Department for the very first time since the U.S.A. Patriot Act was passed, that there is massive discontent with the anti-civil liberties provisions in that bill. I think it was a great victory," Rep. Bernie Sanders (I-VT) told the nationally syndicated program Democracy Now!

Idaho Republican Congressman C.L. "Butch" Otter drafted the anti-Patriot Act legislation as an amendment to this year's Commerce, Justice and State funding bill.

Opposition on the local and state level has been growing for months. More than 140 municipalities and three states, Alaska, Vermont and Hawaii, have passed measures opposing the Patriot Act.

"Hopefully, this is the first trickle in a flood of Patriot fixes," said Laura Murphy, director of the American Civil Liberties Union's legislative office in Washington.

The vote came just days after the *New York Times* reported an internal Justice Department study finding that in a recent six-month period, the Department received almost 1,100 complaints from individuals that their civil rights or civil liberties were violated while the government was enforcing the Patriot Act.

FCC & Media Ownership

On July 22, the House voted by an astonishing 400 to 21 margin to block the Federal Communications Commission from approving deals that would allow television networks to further consolidate beyond existing caps.

Last month the FCC voted to overhaul the nation's media ownership laws to allow for greater media consolidation. Among other things, the FCC agreed to allow television stations to collectively reach up to 45 percent of the national audience. The House voted to block the FCC from allowing any

deals that would give stations a reach of more than the current limit of 35 percent.

The lopsided House vote poses a major threat to President Bush, who has vowed to veto any bill that overturns the new FCC rules, which were lobbied for by major media organizations including Rupert Murdoch's News Corp. and the Tribune Co. But if the bipartisan support remains, the House could easily overturn Bush's veto.

"I hope the administration is listening and will fix its flawed policy so citizens can get accurate, free-flowing information – the lifeblood of democracy," said Rep. David Obey (D-WI), who sponsored the bill.

FCC Chairman Michael Powell defended his agency's decision before the House vote by saying, "The rules will benefit Americans by protecting localism, competition and diversity." Powell is the son of Secretary of State Gen. Colin Powell.

The 20-to-1 vote margin in the House reflects national opinion. A recent survey by Pew Research found 90 percent of Americans opposed the new FCC rules.

Lynne Stewart v. John Ashcroft

And on July 22, federal judge John Koeltl tossed out the two main charges against attorney Lynne Stewart who was charged with abetting a terrorist organization by serving as the attorney for Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman.

Stewart was accused of providing material support in the form of "communications equipment" and "personnel" to the Islamic Group. She had faced 40 years in prison.

Most importantly Koeltl questioned how the Ashcroft Justice Department was enforcing the "material support" law that bars individuals from giving any form of assistance – even unknowingly – to a group connected to a terror organization.

Koeltl ruled the reading of the law was so vague that the government could criminalize the mere use of telephone and any defense attorney representing a terror suspect could be subject to criminal prosecution.

"The government's evolving definition reveals a lack of prosecutorial standards that would permit a standardless sweep that allows policemen, prosecutors and juries to pursue their personal predilections," Koeltl ruled.

The government claimed that she had illegally helped the blind Sheikh to communicate to his followers by holding a press conference where she read a statement of his. The government gained much of its evidence by secretly monitoring conversations between Stewart and her client, a practice once unheard of in the legal world.

Stewart had been one of Attorney General John Ashcroft's most high profile indictments and the July 22 ruling marks a rebuke to his post-9/11 practices.

"It's a major victory at a time we don't see too many victories for our side," said Stewart.

NEWS IN BRIEF

THE "WE-HAVE-TO-WIN-CAUSE-WE-CAN'T-LOSE" ARGUMENT

"If we can't be successful here, we won't be successful in the global war on terrorism. That means it's going to be long, it's sometimes going to be bloody, and we just have to stick with it."

Gen. John Abizaid, the new chief of the U.S. Central Command, speaking to reporters in Baghdad on July 20.

REEBOK ROBS THE CRADLE

First there was LeBron James, the 18-year-old basketball wunderkind who signed a \$138 million marketing deal with Nike. Then Nike signed Freddy Adu, a 14-year-old soccer player to an estimated \$1 million contract. Not to be outdone, Reebok has signed 3-year-old Mark Walker. Decked out in Reebok gear, the toddler from Missouri is featured on a film on the company's website sinking baskets using an adult-sized basketball. Reebok has reportedly filmed a commercial featuring Walker, and plans to display him on television. And it only cost Reebok a promise to pay his future tuition costs.

RECORDING INDUSTRY BRINGS DOWN THE HAMMER

According to the July 19 *Mercury News*, "The music industry has obtained at least 871 federal subpoenas in the past month to go after people who illegally trade music over the Internet." The companies are seeking subpoenas at the rate of more than 500 per week from virtually every major internet service provider. Having been stymied by a federal court ruling last month that file-swapping sites like Kazaa and Grokster could not be held liable for copyright infringement by their users, record companies are threatening civil suits against individuals with fines of \$150,000 per stolen song. Congress is riding to the rescue, but of the record companies. H.R. 2752 would make uploading just one copyrighted song to the public a crime. The penalties could include a five-year prison sentence and a fine of \$250,000. But smart swappers are keeping ahead of the heat by migrating to sites like Freenet that offer anonymity.

BUSH FIGHTS AIDS FUND

In its war against AIDS, the White House is trying to kill off the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria. A meeting in Paris on July 16 ended with no new funding being offered to offset a current shortfall of \$400 million and an even larger gap for the next cycle beginning in October. In attendance was Health and Human Services Secretary Tommy Thompson who reportedly stated that the United States "had done enough for now." Enough apparently includes Bush's request to Congress in May to cap annual U.S. contributions to the fund at \$200 million.

BIG BRO' IS TRACKING YOU

Three residents in Boulder, Colorado recently discovered sophisticated satellite tracking devices attached to their cars, according to the *Boulder Weekly*. Two of the individuals, Mike Nicosia and Rod Coronado, are animal-rights activists. Both say they have been frequent targets of government surveillance, but were still surprised to find the estimated \$2,000 devices attached to the rear bumpers of their cars. Coronado says he plans to auction his device on eBay and give the proceeds to Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty.



Not Welcome

In September, 2004, the Republican National Convention will meet in New York City and nominate George Bush for re-selection. New York will be ready.

rncnotwelcome.org

WE WAITED FOR A SPRING THAT NEVER CAME. LIVE THE HELL OUT OF THIS SUMMER.

THE INDEPENDENT

has open meetings every Tues., 7pm at 34 E. 29 St.

THURS JULY 24

7pm
READING: CHRIS CARLSSON
"CRITICAL MASS: BICYCLING'S
DEFIANT CELEBRATION"

10 years of legendary debates, photographs, artwork and life-transforming experiences evolving from the celebratory, visionary revolt on bicycles called Critical Mass. Bluestockings Books. 172 Allen (Stanton & Rivington). F/V: 2nd Avenue

FRI JULY 25

7pm
CRITICAL MASS BIKE RIDE
Join hundreds of people riding together through the streets of NYC on the last Friday of each month. Meet at the north end of Union Square.

FRI JULY 25

6:30-8pm
SUNSET JAM ON THE HUDSON
Drumming circle. Wagner Park, Battery Park City. FREE. Info: 212-267-9700 or bpcparks.org

JULY 25-27

NEW YORK INTERNATIONAL LATINO FILM FESTIVAL
This festival brings together Latinos in Hollywood and the independent film industry along with aficionados and students of film and the arts. Call 212-726-2358 or see www.nylatino.com

SAT JULY 26

Kickoff for the NYC People's Citywide Referendum on the Free Trade Area of the Americas. Info: 212-760-0333, www.ftareferendum.org

SAT JULY 26

1:30-4:30pm
SUMMER SPEAKOUT AGAINST DEPORTATION
74th St & 37th Rd, Jackson Hts, Qns. Families for Freedom. Contact to join tour, or organize a speakout in your neighborhood: Aarti Shahani, 212-898-4121, aarti@nationalimmigrationproject.org, 347-524-3374, nadin1@onebox.com

SAT JULY 26

2-9pm
AFRICAN FESTIVAL
Salif Keita, Oliver Mtukudzi & The Black Spirits, Gokh-Bi System, Vusi Mahlasela, Dominic Kanza, Kwaku Kwaakye Obeng. Enjoy a full day of music from all over Africa. From rap to Congolese Rumba to masterful drumming. Prospect Park Bandshell. Enter at Prospect Park W & 9th St in Park Slope, Bkln. Free, with a \$3 suggested donation. www.brooklynx.org

SAT JULY 26

8pm
BEATS, POETS & LUMPIA
Kuttin Kandi, DJ Jenny Doom, Nomi from Odd Jobs, Marie Obana, Chaz from Kontrast, and many more! A benefit party for the 2nd Annual Filipino Youth Festival. At Brecht Forum, 122 West 27th St. 10th Floor. \$5 before 9pm, \$10 after. Info: Philippine Forum 718-565-8862

SUN JULY 27

12:30pm
HOMELESS KIDS MARCH & RALLY
Homeless kids will rally together & march from Central Park to Mayor Bloomberg's house. Meet at Central Park on SW Corner of E 79 St. Info: Cole Krawitz, 212-964-5900 x173, ckrawitz@cftohomeless.org

SUN JULY 27

4pm
SCREENING: THE HIDDEN FACE OF GLOBALIZATION.
What corporations don't want us to know: a new video from the National Labor Cmt & Crowling Rooster Arts Productions. Two Boots Pioneer Theater, 155 E 3rd St (corner of 3rd St & Ave A). \$5-\$10. Info: Julie Marx, 212-242-3002

MON JULY 28

7-10pm
RADICAL SEX ED
DIY sex toys, tricks & techniques, role playing, kinkiness, communication & ingredients for fun, fulfilling, safer sex. ABC No Rio, 156 Rivington St btw Clinton & Suffolk. Info: 718-926-7306, Activethoughtproject@blazemail.com

TUES JULY 29

7pm
WOMEN'S POETRY JAM & OPEN MIC
Hosted by Vittoria Repetto and featuring poets Linda Lerner and Susan Gerardi. Open mic

sign-up at 7pm - 8-minute limit. Bluestockings Books.

JULY 29 & 30

7pm
YOUTH THEATER FREE READINGS
CAP 21 Theater, 15 W 28th St, 2nd fl (btw 5th & Bway). Info & tix: 212 252-1619. Reservations req'd.

WED JULY 30

8:30pm
HARLEM PARKS FILM FESTIVAL
Zany, serious & edgy short films by directors from the African Diaspora. Marcus Garvey Park. 122nd and Mt. Morris Park West. Free. Info: 212-352-1720, www.africanfilmny.org

WED JULY 30

7pm
THEATER: YO SOY LATINA 6
Latinas who try to make sense of what it means to be a Latina in America. Nuyorican Poet's Cafe, 236 3rd St. (btw Aves B & C). \$20, students/\$5 with High 5 tix 212 Hi5-TKTS, www.highfivetix.org Info: 212 971-1954, www.latinoflavored.com, www.nuyorican.org

WED JULY 30

10pm-3am
DIRECTING ARTISTIC WOMEN TOWARDS AESTHETIC HORIZON ZENITH
DJ Jaclyn spins 10pm-midnight & DJ Mocha Sunflower spins midnight-3am. OPEN MIC. At

Goga Cafe, 521 Court St btw. Garnet & 9th St, Carroll Gardens, Bkln. G/F to Smith & 9th St. \$10. Info: 718 302 0309, wemanifest@hotmail.com

THURS JULY 31

7-10pm
WORD IS BOND: LOUD & PROUD
Join the Audre Lorde Project for a free open mike & slam event showcasing the talents of Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Two-Spirit, Transgender & Questioning youth of color ages 20 & under. Allies 25 & under welcome. 85 South Oxford St, Bkln. (Atlantic Ave & Pacific St Station). Info: 718 596-0342 X21.

THURS JULY 31

8pm
MANGO LASSI: AMERICAN DREAMS V
Plays about NYC & the Immigrant Experience. Lower East Side Tenement Theater, 97 Orchard St btw Broome & Delancey. \$6. Info & Reservations: 212 431-0233 X 440, www.tenement.org

JULY 31-AUG 4

INTL. BLACK PANTHER FILM FESTIVAL
Chaired by Danny Glover. Black Panther (1968), May Day (1969), Passin' It On (1993), many more. Spoken word events, special panels, Q & A with directors, workshops. At City College, Aaron Davis Hall, Columbia U-Lerner Hall/Roone

Arlidge Cinema & The Studio Museum in Harlem. \$10/\$7 students & seniors w/ID. Info: 212-662-0006, www.pantherfilmfest.com

FRI AUG 1

8pm
HIGH CONCEPT/LOW BUDGET FILMS AT ROOFTOP FILMS:
Hi/Lights from the 2003 Film Festiva: www.hilofilmfestival.com. Live music by New Spain at 9pm. Located at Office Ops at 57 Thames St. 3 blocks from Morgan St. stop on the L train. For more info, see rooftopfilms.com

AUG 1-SEPT 12

VOICES IN THE WILDERNESS CREATIVE RESISTANCE SUMMER CAMP.
Artists, media activists & grassroots organizers take part in creative forms of direct action using NYC as their canvas with methods of nonviolence & alternative forms of communication. Info: joe@vitw.org, www.vitw.org

MON AUG 4

8pm
FREEDOM FOLLIES: DROPPING THE BOMB
The Struggle for Peace in a Military Culture. Performances, readings & free speech. At Chashama Theatre, 111 W 42nd St. Free. Info: sophia_skiles@yahoo.com

TUES AUG 5

7pm
CHEAP ART AUCTION

To benefit Mamas Rising Up. Bluestockings.

AUG 7-10

BREAKING DOWN BORDERS, BUILDING A MOVEMENT.
United Students Against Sweatshops Summer Conf. At Fordham U, Lincoln Center. Info: Lenore Palladino, 212-265-7000 x815, Lenore@usasnet.org, www.usasnet.org

FRI AUG 8

SISTAH II SISTAH BENEFIT AT ROOFTOP FILMS
SIIS is a freedom school for young women of color. Screenings featuring youth-produced films from such programs as DCTV's Pro-TV, WNYE's TV show IMNY, the Children's Media Project, and more.

EVERY SATURDAY

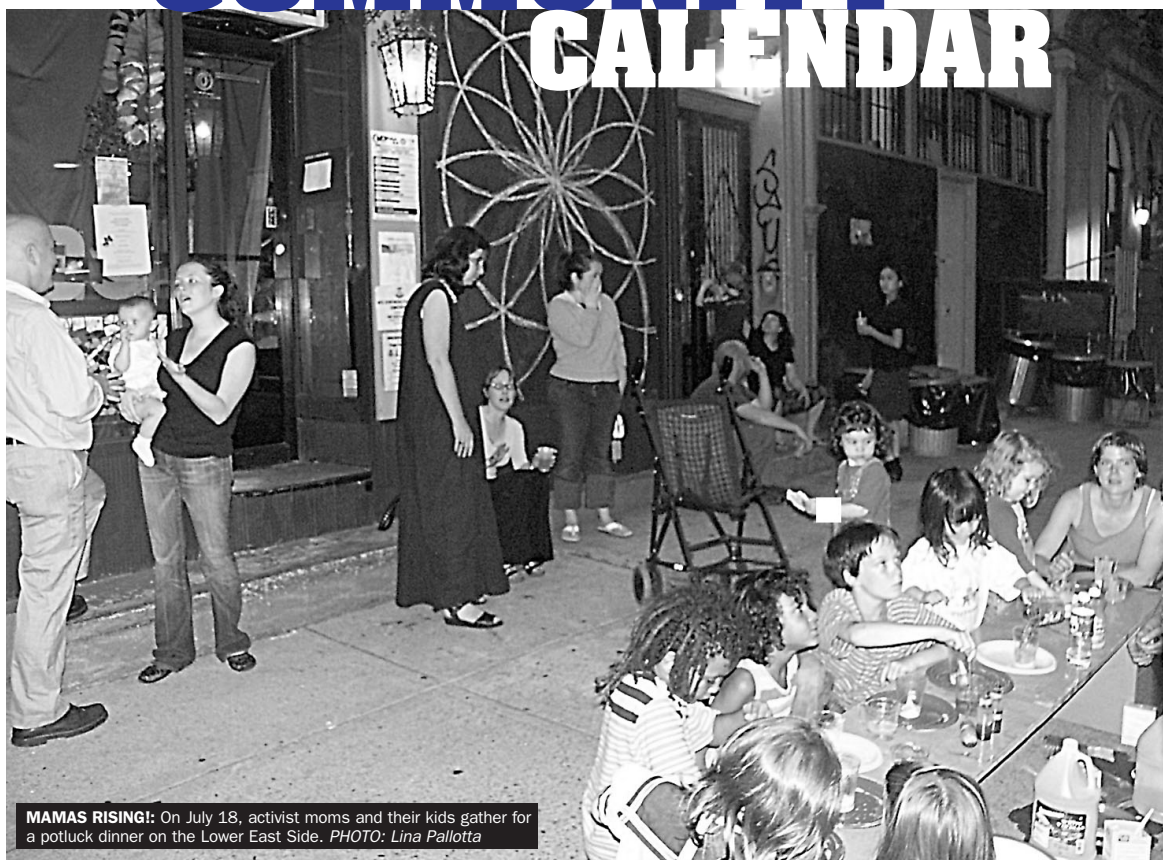
8am-3pm
WILLIAMSBURG GREENMARKET
Park at Lorimer & Driggs Info: www.cenyc.org

EVERY SATURDAY

10am to 5pm
FARMERS MARKET & COMMUNITY FESTIVAL
Ave. D btwn 7th and 8th.

It's your calendar.
For listings, call 212-684-8112

COMMUNITY CALENDAR



MAMAS RISING! On July 18, activist moms and their kids gather for a potluck dinner on the Lower East Side. PHOTO: Lina Pallotta